1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

302 charms, and old women are given to the practice. All painting is decorative; quite devoid of esoteric significance. The most common decoration, particularly that of the old women, is painting the front of the face, within the frame of the hair, red.[1] Equally common are two red spots, one on each cheek bone. Infrequent styles, worn by men, are similar spots, of red, but bordered by sienna, and three horizontal lines on each cheek with a stripe down the forehead. The styles shown in Fig. 47 are redrawn from sketches by a native, who arranged them in the order of their popularity; styles *g* to *l* are but infrequently used. All of these styles were said to be in use by young women, but sometimes young men would use *a*, *g* and *h*, while *h* was peculiar to little girls. It seems rather that there is great latitude in the use, form, and coloring of these paintings. Ordinarily executed in red, black, sienna, or white may be used, except that *g* was said to be red alone, *h* red or mescal, and *l* blue. The figures are frequently bordered or filled in with a second color, as white between red or black in *a*, sienna around red dots in *c*, or a sienna border within the figure in *j*. There are no special names for these styles of painting. The old style apron-dress left women's legs exposed; old (?) women painted them red from ankle to knee.

Red paint is not obtainable near the village, but is taken from a 386 mine on Diamond Creek in Walapai territory. The mine entrance is a 317 small orifice in the face of a cliff, which can only be reached by a ladder. Only one man at a time can enter, crawling flat, dragging a sack under him. The powdered red clay is scooped into the sack, which is held under the arm as he backs out. This is dangerous work, for more than one man has been killed in the crevice. A second mine is located east of Grand View in their own range. Black paint (*matkqdd'it*, black earth) is scraped from a stratum in a trench at Pine Springs, also in Walapai territory. Charcoal is not used. The red and black powders are kept 396 in little buckskin bags, sewed with a running stitch, with a thong bound about the neck. The red powder is sometimes mixed with water so that it can be rolled into a ball and kept in a bag in this form. Powder is scratched from the ball with the thumb nail until a pinch is collected in the palm. Cold grease, preferably deer, is kept in another bag; it will not spoil for a month or so. It is chewed until soft, kneaded with the [302] powder in the hand, and smeared on the face with the fingers. Black paint is not mixed with grease, but a stick, moistened in the mouth, is inserted in the nearly closed neck of the bag. For a white paint (*matkd'o*

[171] [1] The Walapai are said sometimes to paint their heads black in this manner instead of red.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

white (?) earth) the gypsum found in Cataract Canyon is roasted in ashes for half a day. When cool, it is ground to powder, and mixed with water for use. This is always prepared fresh when desired. Sienna paint (sinkátilad, mescal—) is the dried juice of roasted mescal (p. 106). The stick or small bundle of yucca fiber used as a brush is rubbed on a lump of this paint wet with saliva. 296 302

Children paint their faces with the colored scales from butterflies' wings.

Tattooing (*dinyéélgai*) is very moderate, consisting usually of small decorations on the center of the forehead, less frequently on other parts of the face, occasionally on the back of the hand, but never on other 304

Fig. 48. Tattoo Designs. a-c, Center of man's forehead; *f*, g, Woman's chin.

parts of the body (Fig. 48). Besides those figured, others consist of a spot on each cheek, or a small circle in the center of the forehead. Tattooing is used by men, women, and children; with purely decorative intent. The design is pricked in with cactus spines which are moistened and dipped into ground charcoal. More charcoal is rubbed into the punctures during the four or five days succeeding before the wounds heal.

Comparative Notes

The problem of dress in the Southwest is not a simple one, for the original styles have been obscured both by successive adoptions of colonial Spanish patterns and by the apparent introduction of Plains garments. The changes in the colonial garments and their adaptation, principally 177 291

[Also signifying writing: *nadinyéélgai* means both photograph and camera (*tqá, mas*).]

Gilliff Y-6 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

from the agave, commonly called the mescal plant. Families worked in groups, first testing the plants for ripeness by thrusting a sharpened stick into their hearts. If they were soft and juicy, the harvest was on. With a wooden wedge the women pried the entire plant from the soil, cut away the outer leaves and tossed the fibrous pulp into their burden baskets. A large pit was dug, wood put in, set on fire and covered with stones. Someone accustomed to the task piled the hearts into the heated pit, using a cross layer to separate the mescal belonging to one family from that of another. These tasks were performed with high good humor. When the pit was filled to a depth of four or five feet, the mescal was covered with a layer of grass and leaves, on which dirt was piled to hold the heat. At the end of two days, the hearts were soft and brown. Each woman took her share, spread it on a wide stone surface, and pounded it into a thin sheet three feet wide and twice as long. This was quickly dried in the hot sun, then folded into a slab for convenient storing.

The mescal pit yielded the brown paint about which Carl had told me at Truxton. The stones on which the plants rested in the roasting pit were heavily coated with the burned juice. This was either scraped from the stones or soaked in water which was later evaporated by boiling. When the right consistency was reached, red mineral paint was added to thicken it to a putty-like substance of the desired shade for facial decoration.

My successor finally arrived. He was young, friendly, quick to co-operate, and his wife was charming. They were a bit shaken from the descent of the trail, and appalled at finding themselves in so deep a gorge, but quickly made their adjustment, and were eager to begin work. I remained for a few days to help them get acquainted with conditions and to check the government property, which I would turn over to him.

Again I fitted my things into the clumsy packsaddles, this time for the trip out. As I packed, the remark made by an Indian lad to a lazy boy who refused to work, ran through my mind: "Well, what are you going to do—just stand there and breathe?" With

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

842 Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities.

Birth Customs

844 At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant [515] in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, [278] obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, [854] a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.)

856 To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long [854] strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face [302] and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and [386] any available grease, such as lard or cold cream.

Use of the Cradleboard

854 A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's [302] mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent [438] has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers.

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Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother.

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

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Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width.

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A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and

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older women ride astride.

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-8). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. [177] Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. [386] In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally [301] were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no [822] emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In [768] each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are [783] buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in [826] pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy.

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, 881 her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who 515 meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
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It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic
[841] cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the
[177] same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from
386 the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a
415 primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face
302 which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal com-
[114] munication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was
[822] red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

291 the neck—to the knees, and supplemented by the half of a blanket tied or pinned with a skewer at the corners across the breast, when it is thrown over the shoulders, depending a little below the waist. Their moccasins, when worn, which is seldom, are not unlike the men's, though lighter.

302 The hair of the men is banged even with the eyes, but worn full length behind, and usually done up in a neat knot, tied with fibre. The women's, worn shorter behind, is banged as low as the chin. The men decorate themselves va-
301 riously. Often a comb of long splints, beautifully plaited together with colored threads, is thrust into the headband, to which two eagle plumes, either white or red, are attached by cords, so as to float about in the wind. Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of
[304] colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times. Necklaces of shell
[556] and beads of bone, from which sea-shells, rudely cut and etched, depend, are the marks of property. A bow-guard of leather or raw-hide, bangles, either silver or brass, and numerous finger-rings of bright red cactus thorns, sprung together in the fire, complete the list of ornaments, the latter being worn in great numbers by the women, because easily procurable.

302 The faces of both sexes are painted
386 with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ochre, applied dry or with oil extracted from the sunflower seed; varied among the men, sometimes, with streaks of blue paint, prepared from the root of the wild indigo, and put on in streaks, with little wooden spatulæ, under the lower
304 eyelid, and from the under lip down-
302 ward across the chin. Tattooing and mutilations for personal adornment are rare. They consist, besides the piercing of the ears, now and then, in the boring of the nose and the plucking out of the eyebrows,—which, even when natural, are not pronounced,—and almost always